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in the khwan khǎo "gift" handy cash. The income was about 40 to 2[illegible] baht ($2.00 to $20.00) per year.

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The duties of a midwife were not time consuming if all went well. There was practically no pre-natal care, and a few hours of care was given for only three days after birth. If complications arose, though, the midwife spent long hours away from home. In fact the husband of one midwife grumbled, "You don't receive anything, and just waste time. Sometimes you stay away over night, and no one watches the house or the children."

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In their social role, midwives felt personal but not group solidarity. A solid bond existed between an older midwife and the particular younger one to whom he or she had given training and magic. Those related by blood or marriage sometimes worked together, and even turned over cases to each other if outside demands became pre-eminent. If in trouble on a case, midwives did not call on each other unless as close, affectionate relatives but turned rather for help from a mɔ̄ or to the Minburi Health Center. Yet sometimes rivalry was severe. If the family of the parturient felt that no progress was being made with one midwife, they called in another and another. Each did his utmost and then stepped down when it had to be admitted, "My magic is not enough." The final expert who brought mother and baby through before the deposed midwives glowed inwardly with pride and skill and satisfaction that the magic of his particular teacher had proved effective. The sharpness of the competition reverberated through the words, "I pushed the other midwives down." Community standing or "face" was not lost by an unsuccessful case because of the midwives' fundamental role as helpers only, their faith in their own experiences, and again, the conviction that the course of childbirth was merit-determined.

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Though living like other elder citizens of the community, in their social role they were more respected. Known as selfless donors of time and energy for the sake of others, whose successes gave proof of merit and nurturing capacity, they were viewed as assets to the community. In spite of competition considerable affection was evident between some. They were elders before a sea of youth, old friends who had for years lived and farmed side by side, met at ceremonies, and shared many experiences.

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If the case were in difficulty sometimes a mɔ̄ was called, sometimes a midwife or even both. What was the nature of their respective specialties? What in fact made certain midwives "professionals" (thaem chîp [Mc.F. 990]) when others who had equal or more experience were not so considered?

APPENDIX

MUSLIM CUSTOMS IN BANG CHAN

The small Muslim minority in Bang Chan though maintaining its identity, lived scattered through every hamlet, with the heaviest concentration around the mosque at the southern edge of the village. The occasional inter-marriage of Buddhist and Muslim was eventually amicably adjusted to the community and the religion. Some Buddhists manifested a veiled hostility in calling the Muslims "stingy." One said, "Muslims have expensive medicine to induce abortion, after which they might kill the baby. A Buddhist would use this medicine to help deliver, but would not dare take life." The Muslim reputation as a source for powerful magic, especially for love and sorcery, bespeaks some edginess in the relations between the 2 ethnic groups, but Buddhists sometimes sought out the benefit of this magic.

In spite of these separatist tendencies, the Muslims were fully Thai citizens, and participated as equals with the Buddhists in the economic, political and much of the social life. The 2 groups were in many respects interdependent. The Muslims did not object to taking life, so acted as butchers for the Buddhists. Muslims were frequent patients of Buddhist mo, whether priests or lay. The only Muslim who did a little curing was the To Iman, head of the mosque, but few if any Buddhists came to him for cures. Because every mo gave an annual ceremony of homage to his teacher attended by everyone who had benefited from those powers during the year, Muslims and Buddhists met amiably at several large feasts. These festivals were public displays, very competitive in feeling, of the success of the different mo. One became the largest of the village-wide festivities. Buddhist women attended the Muslim female midwife, teacher-rites, and vice versa. Buddhists and Muslims, especially the prominent families, attended each other's home ceremonies, such as weddings, tonsures, and that part of the ordination held in the home (the thaa khwan). Separate kitchens were established at large Buddhist ceremonies so that Muslims could safely adhere to their one dietary regulation, the avoidance of pork. No such arrangements had to be made at Muslim ceremonies for Buddhists had no food taboos, and loved Muslim cooking.

Midwifery was an area of frank, harmonious interchange, with midwives of either religion often attending women of the other. Buddhist male midwives were allowed by the Muslim husbands to attend their wives, though female attendance was preferred. Satisfaction was expressed by Buddhist women over

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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the village to find dependent relatives—siblings, cousins, nephews, nieces— 596
who, unable to make a go of it elsewhere, are accepted into a relative's family, sometimes to the extent of eventually taking over the headship of the family. Sometimes, on the initiative and invitation of an elderly or lonely relative, an entire nuclear family will be asked to take over or share a household. Children of poor or "inconvenienced" families (where a new 596
child is born before the first is weaned, where there are too many children 597
for the mother to handle comfortably, where a youngster is simply being "troublesome") are adopted or "borrowed" by other villagers for varying periods of time. This is done preferably by relatives, sometimes by neighbors, and often, in the case of boys, by the monastery, where the children become hand-servants to the monks and are supposed to absorb, by a kind of osmotic process, righteous ways of behaving. (Of my three male life history informants, two were given over to relatives at the ages of two, the third at the age of eight; one spent his childhood with four different families, another with five families; one describes his adolescence as "wandering from place to place." The psychological implications of such displacement should not be underestimated.) On occasion, two independent 596
nuclear families—almost always connected by some kinship tie—will join [594]
together for convenience to share cooking facilities, in which case they effectively become a single extended family. And in some cases, although rare, one will encounter adult children living in independent households but handing over their income to a parent, living in still another home, who disburses the proceeds when necessary.

On the other side, it is common practice in Bang Chan now for a 596
husband to be away for four or five months at a time earning money in 591
Bangkok, or during the dry season on a vegetable farm, returning home to [464]
visit his wife and children whenever opportunity permits, with or without funds. The wife may still maintain their household, but often returns to 596
live with her own parents.[1] In a similar vein, although obviously more 586
extreme, it is not unusual to find families in Bang Chan which have simply 182
"disintegrated," as the villagers say. Much depends here on the circumstances of family members. Bang Chaners usually reserve the term "disintegrated" for families that no longer have the economic wherewithal or justification for staying together as functioning units. In these instances, family members simply go their separate ways, if possible back to their families of orientation or to other relatives, husbands perhaps into the monkhood, and the children to whomever will take them. Most frequently, [578]
"disintegration" is characteristic of very poor families, and in the minds of

[1] This pattern may be related to the old *corvée* labor pattern when able-bodied village men were away from their families for extended periods of time. [466] [651] [174]

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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596 182 586 [578] [576] the villagers is contrasted with those cases of separation or divorce which are viewed as resulting more from social psychological reasons: arguments, contrariness, general incompatability, and wasting or not sharing money. The squandering of money is a most frequent cause of family discord contributing to family dissolution, especially when it involves the three aphoristic evils of Thai life: women, whiskey, and opium (although, in fact, I know of only two cases where Bang Chaners have been reputed to smoke opium).

586 595 Precise figures on the divorce or separation rate in Bang Chan are unknown, primarily because many marriages as well as divorces are never registered on the government rolls; also, many separations seem to follow an on-again-off-again pattern; the sanctioned occurrence of polygyny (only eight known cases out of the 296 families) and even polyandry (two known cases) complicates the problem even further. However, the fact that *four* [581] months after I had designated a sample of thirty families from which to select informants, six of those families, or 20 percent of the sample population, had dissolved would strongly suggest that Bang Chan families are not particularly stable.

593 586 183 The causes of family fission in these specific cases are unknown, but what is impressive is the apparent ease with which it takes place and the equanimity with which people seem to accept it. Other informants, reporting their own experiences or observations, discuss family breakups as if they were among the more normal events of the workaday world and completely understandable. They seem to be of no greater emotional import—in the sense of eliciting recognizable feelings of distress—than losing a good price on the sale of a piece of land or on the sale of some rice. In fact, the latter kinds of situations are considerably more likely to evoke expressions of hurt or exasperation. One repeatedly encounters in Bang Chan instances on the following order: a family breaks up simply because the husband has an inclination to work for a particular person whom he likes; a wife ("she is a touchy woman") runs away every time she has a minor disagreement with her husband (minor even by village standards, for example, "Should I buy my lottery tickets from Mr. X or Mr. Y?"; "Should we invite seven monks or ten monks to officiate at this ceremony?"). The point here is that these explanations—and the low tolerance for discord, the importance to a person of a boss or job over a spouse, the desire to be footloose, which they imply—are to the villagers completely reasonable justifications for the dissolution of family units.

174 594 596 Many of the family relationships referred to above as "centripetal" in nature are clearly related to or derived from patterns of social organization characteristic of an earlier Bang Chan. Although most evidence indicates that even in the years immediately following the settlement of the village in

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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village; for how long his wife or child did not know: "maybe he will be back next week or next month; it is not certain." In a similar vein, we would encounter a youngster serving at the monastery, a week later working as a chore boy in someone's home, and a few months later living in still another home. And most fascinating of all are those seemingly amicable and placid families—and it should be remembered that Bang Chan is small enough, and in the daily round of life open and quiet enough, so that the slightest manifestation of family tension may easily become public knowledge—which suddenly split apart after a disagreement about something as inconsequential as a missing shirt. Here, the cause of fission is of course not the intrinsic importance of the missing item (although a white "city" shirt is expensive and does have symbolic significance), but rather the villagers' extraordinarily low tolerance for interpersonal conflict and the challenge to their pride: rather than permit the disagreement to mushroom into an emotionally expressive conflict, it is much easier to leave the field. Because the volatility of a dispute is what is often most feared, one rarely hears of any actual argument accompanying the disagreement; instead villagers say, "We had a few words and he left. That's all." [10]

None of the above is meant to imply that family fissions are typical, in a statistical sense, of Bang Chan or even less that discord is what causes them. (Our concern with discord was simply to illustrate that villagers feel so strongly about it that when it occurs, they will take the most extreme measure to avoid it.) However, together with the separations that result from economic opportunities, "arrangements of convenience," and the desire to be footloose, they do occur frequently enough to exist as potentialities in the life of every family; when they happen they are not completely unexpected.

These points have been raised primarily because Bang Chan is in fact a rather placid community, and in discussing kinship it is easy to mistake placidity for inertia, especially when our typical categories of description almost assume the latter state to be the case. However, accompanying this placidity is a kind of quiet dynamic resulting from 1,771 individualists—polite, gentle, non-aggressive, but nevertheless individualists—pursuing their own purposes. These pursuits do not preclude family obligations, loyalties, and love—Bang Chaners repeatedly speak and act in terms of repaying the love that their parents have given them; of repaying them for

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[10] The desire to avoid emotional climax here seems very similar to what Bateson (1949: 40) found among the Balinese where, when individuals quarrel, there is an attempt at a "formal recognition of the state of their mutual relationship, and possibly, in some sort, a pegging of their relationship at that state . . . this method of dealing with quarrels would correspond to the substitution of a plateau for a climax." In Bang Chan, the "plateau" is achieved by having nothing to do with one's antagonist.

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*125 *128 *156 This last may be a reflection of the dissatisfaction a few villagers may feel over the continuous emphasis given to sweet and appealing words.

*125 *128 *156 • 578 The next item, *"The thing they most dislike about him is . . . ,"* is in its stimulus value essentially the obverse of the above. Thus, the negative counterparts of some of the characteristics noted above also appear here: 4 percent of the sample dislikes the lack of orderliness and a pleasing disposition in others; 13 percent dislikes haughtiness, conceit, or arrogance: and one villager dislikes a person who "does not know what work is." However, the dominant definitions of undesirable characteristics are not simply negative phrasings of the desirable. Although two villagers do dislike

TABLE 15

The thing they most dislike about him is . . .
The thing that makes* khon *not like him is (namely) . . .

TROUBLING OTHERS (64%)		
HURTFUL SPEECH:	30%	that he does not speak well and lies.
		her lies. No one likes those whose words cannot be trusted.
		that she damns others. Some people gossip about others.
ANNOYING OTHERS:	24%	that she is a troublemaker and does not speak nicely.
		that she likes to look for trouble.
THIEVERY:	10%	that he is a person who likes to steal.
BAD QUALITIES (17%)		
HAUGHTINESS:	13%	that he is conceited and lofty.
OTHERS:	4%	his bad manners; he is not *rîaberɔɔj* (he lacks neatness, good order, finesse, etc.); his coarse way of speaking.

people who are ungrateful for the help they have received or who do not help others, most accept these sins of omission as realistic possibilities. (Although *bunkhuns* assume reciprocation, one always has the option of terminating the relationship.) Rather, most villagers perceive undesirable qualities in terms of the trouble that individuals actively cause others.

This trouble takes at least three forms. The first, representing the responses of 30 percent of the sample, is the deceptive or otherwise painful use of language: lying, gossiping, using rude and insulting forms to deal with others. This last, of course, means the expression of aggression: indifference to the feelings and dignity of other people. Lying and gossiping, however, reflect the sensitivity that some villagers have about the untrustworthiness of others: that beneath the gloss of smiles and amicable face-to-face contacts, people often do hurt one another. This suggests, of course, some of the ambivalence that villagers feel about "nice words" and

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"sweet speech." The second major response, representing 24 percent of the sample, is more generic in nature: it encompasses the trait of inciting other people to have arguments; the capacity to annoy people, in a manner akin to what is connoted by the American slang term, "to bug" a person; and the capacity actually to threaten others. The emphasis here is on intruding on the peace, stability, and self-concerns of other people. The last response, representing 10 percent of the sample, is interesting because of its rather non-psychological, highly practical, nature: people are disliked because they steal. Theft is something that one *hears* about in Bang Chan very frequently, but actual cases are almost never encountered. What its symbolic significance may be is unknown, unless it is simply a more concrete expression of the concern about the untrustworthiness of others.

The most striking characteristic of the above responses is that despite their diversity they almost all emphasize qualities that are directly interpersonal, rather than intrapersonal, in nature. There are no responses here which say that the most dislikable thing about a person is "his stupidity"; "his weakness"; "his incompetence." It is only when unattractiveness takes on a manifestly social dimension, when a person's activities can actually harm others, that most villagers become exercised. Otherwise, Bang Chaners seem to assume (and it is the assumption that is important) that a person can be any way he wants. To a large extent, this same assumption was implicit in the villagers' structuring of the previous item on "likable" qualities, and may help to explain why they often define positive qualities as the absence of negative ones. In that item, if a person could not be of direct help to the self or love the self (the major response), villagers desired that he deal with others in a "soft spoken" and gentle way (the second most frequent response) or at least lack offensive qualities (the third most frequent response). They seem to assume that it is better not to have a relationship at all than to have one that admits unpleasantness. Or, phrased in another way, they seem to assume that if a relationship is even to occur, it must be useful, pleasant, or harmless. What the person is otherwise like, outside of the relationship, is irrelevant to one's assessment of him.

This attention to the manifest nature of social relationships and to the necessity of keeping the relationships smooth and uncomplicated is revealed most sharply in the next two items, *"People who never show their feelings are . . ."* and *"It is sometimes good to hide your true feelings about a person because. . . ."* The latter item is clearly biased in the direction of sanctioning the social pose, and is valuable mainly for the kinds of justifications it reveals. The former item, however, has no evaluative connotations and permits villagers to respond in any direction. Examination of the responses indicates overwhelming agreement on the part of villagers about the desirability of hiding one's feelings. Eighty percent of